

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
ROUTING SLIP

*Memo
Chrono*

TO:		ACTION	INFO	DATE	INITIAL
	1 DCI		X		
	2 DDCI		X		
	3 EXDIR		X		
	4 D/ICS				
	5 DDI				
	6 DDA		X		
	7 DDO	X			
	8 DDS&T				
	9 Chm/NIC				
	10 GC				
	11 IG				
	12 Compt				
	13 D/OLL				
	14 D/PAO				
	15 D/PERS				
	16 VC/NIC				
	17 A/DDO/N		X		
	18 C/SPG/NCD		X		
	19 D/Exec Staff		X		
	20 ES		X		
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SUSPENSE		ASAP			
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Remarks

Executive Secretary

14 Oct 86

Date

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

35-4724X

Budapest, Hungary

September 26, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: INR - Ambassador Abramowitz
FROM: Nicholas M. Salgo
SUBJECT: Comparing Eastern European Societies

As I near the end of my three-year assignment in Hungary, I am all the more impressed with the significant differences which exist among the countries of the Warsaw Pact in terms of outlook, political practices, toleration of dissidents, cultural policies, economic controls, religious freedom, administrative procedures, etc. I believe that these differences have considerable significance for the future development of these countries and our ability to design constructive relations with each of them. Nevertheless, I have not yet seen an attempt to set forth precisely in a structured manner the nature of these differences upon which a comparative survey could be developed. I am attaching a list of categories which we, in Budapest, have developed. I would be very happy if you would take a look at them, evaluate them, and have your own specialists modify them and, as appropriate, develop additional categories. My goal would be to then ask all the posts in Eastern Europe for their input which would be the basis for a comparative survey to be produced in Washington.

I would very much appreciate receiving your reaction to this proposal.

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OADR

A MATRIX FOR THE EXAMINATION OF PRACTICAL DIFFERENCES
EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS

A. POLITICAL

Degree of local democracy (e.g. can referendums be used to overturn decisions made by local authorities;

Mandatory multiple candidates for local and national positions;

Level of availability of mother tongue schools and cultural institutions to meet ethnic demand;

Extent of access by population to foreign media and publications;

Level of tolerance of Samizdat publication and distribution;

Ability to travel to Western countries;

Tolerance of unofficial interest groups

Ability to travel to socialist countries; extent of and restrictions on local cross-border traffic.

B. CULTURE AND MASS MEDIA

U.S. films shown (especially percent of total available to general public).

Types of U.S. films shown (i.e. to what extent are such films selectively chosen to portray a highly negative view of American life).

Treatment of reporters (U.S. and other Western re: visas, access to sources, etc.)

Contact with universities (direct or through Ministry -- relative ease of access).

Contact with TV/Radio (ease of access, receptiveness/initiative in covering U.S. topics).

Co-ops with USIA/TV (coverage of the U.S. by on-site TV personnel).

Worldnet (accessibility of national TV to Worldnet via antennas or cassette).

Policy on TV/Radio (jamming of VOA, RFE, other Western alternate sources of information).

Application of Cultural Treaty (whether treated as ceiling or floor for P&C programs).

Degree of local access to P&C Library, etc. (programs/films by general, specialized publics).

Coverage of U.S. in media (boiler plate propaganda or appeal to reason).

Access to Youth (KISZ, language programs).

Private sector exchanges (ease and volume of "non-official" institution-to-institution programs).

Exhibits (number of U.S. exhibits and access to wider publics -- regional tours)

C. HUMANITARIAN/FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

CSCE issues: Treatment of divided families, etc. (POL should handle).

Period between allowed trips to West by natives.

Emigration allowed between 18-55?

Amount of hard currency local citizens can possess legally.

Amount of hard currency local citizens are allowed to take out.

Willingness to exeditiously grant emigration permission to spouse of American citizens, alien residents and their families.

D. COMMERCIAL

Availability of business visas.

Access of enterprises and end-users.

Availability of business services.

Requirements for opening a representational office.

Requirements for hiring local personnel.

Rules governing joint ventures.

Repatriation of local earnings.

General business climate.

Availability of marketing information.

E. ECONOMIC

How are state enterprises held accountable - i.e. by quantitative production norms or profitability.

Does the obligation of maintaining full employment fall on the state or the enterprises?

How is the private sector treated - i.e. restricted, tolerated, limited encouragement, only bound basically by professional qualification and health considerations.

Are there multiple exchange rates? How realistic is/are exchange rates vis-avis convertible currencies?

How adequately does the domestic economy meet the consumer needs of the population, i.e. partially, adequately, some luxuries available to an elite, some luxuries available to the general public and rationed by price.

What investment and savings opportunities exist for individuals, i.e. only low interest savings account, housing, savings accounts with a real return on the interest rate, limited bond market.

F. ADMINISTRATIVE/BILATERAL

Degree of access to foreign currency shops by host country nationals.

Necessity for diplomats to shop in hard currency only shops.

Different pricing system for foreigners, such as in hotels or rents charged for diplomatic housing.

Inspection of diplomatic HHE both entering and leaving the country.

Ability of diplomatic establishments and foreign (Western) businesses to freely hire needed host country nationals to work in their embassies or businesses.

G. RELIGION

Which denominations are officially recognized?

Formal relationship between Church and State.

Availability of religious education to citizenry.

Availability of religious education to clergy.

Possibility to practice religious beliefs and hold Party positions.

Attitudes towards church attendance - To what extent does being an active believer hinder one's professional career.

Ability of church to appoint local bishops freely.

State of relations with the Vatican.

H. SCIENCE

Acknowledgements by leadership of U.S. (and West) preeminence in S&T developments.

Uninhibited contacts and access to Western S&T communities; openly court Western Governments, firms, institutions.

Expressed policy initiatives to expand S&T cooperation with Western Governments.